

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 IO-13 /072 W  
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R 191230Z JAN 78  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4939  
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
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USMISSION USBERLIN  
USMISSION USNATO  
AMCONSUL BREMEN  
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF  
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT  
AMCONSUL HAMBURG  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 01003

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, GE, GW  
SUBJECT: SPIEGEL MANIFESTO: A PARTISAN ISSUE IN FRG

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE SPD AND THE CDU/CSU OPPOSITION HAVE  
BECOME POLARIZED ON THE ISSUE OF THE GDR OPPOSITION  
MANIFESTO PUBLISHED IN DER SPIEGEL. LEADING SPD FIGURES  
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HAVE GONE OUT ON A LIMB TO IMPLY THAT THE MANIFESTO IS  
FALSE, AND HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT IT SHOULD NOT UPSET THE  
PROCESS OF IMPROVING INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS OR DETENTE.  
THE OPPOSITION HAS STRESSED THE SEEMING AUTHENTICITY OF  
THE DOCUMENT, POINTING OUT THAT THE GDR'S REACTION TO ITS  
PUBLICATION, INCLUDING CLOSING THE SPIEGEL BUREAU, UNDER-  
SCORES THE UNRECONSTRUCTED NATURE OF THE EAST GERMAN

REGIME AND ILLUSTRATES THE WEAKNESSES OF THE GERMAN TREATIES NEGOTIATED WITH THE EAST BY SPD-LED GOVERNMENTS. WHILE THIS PARTISAN POLITICAL INTERPLAY HAS NOT REACHED MAJOR PROPORTIONS AND IS GENERALLY REFLECTIVE OF TRADITIONAL PARTY POSITIONS ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS, IT CAN ONLY COMPLICATE BOTH AN OBJECTIVE EVALUATION OF THE ALLEGED DOCUMENT AND DISPASSIONATE HANDLING BY THE FRG OF INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS. END SUMMARY

1. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S (SPD) REACTION TO THE PUBLICATION BY DER SPIEGEL OF A SUPPOSED OPPOSITION MANIFESTO HAS BEEN TO QUESTION THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE DOCUMENT AND TO EMPHASIZE THE CONTINUING VALIDITY OF EFFORTS TOWARD DETENTE AND IMPROVED INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS. IN PART, THIS HAS BEEN IN REACTION TO CRITICISM FROM THE CDU/CSU OPPOSITION; IN PART, HOWEVER, IT REFLECTS THE STRONG PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO DETENTE OF PARTY LEADERS LIKE EGON BAHR AND HERBERT WEHNER, AND THEIR CONCERN AT SEEING THEIR LONG EFFORT TO IMPROVE INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS JEOPARDIZED AND CRITICIZED.

2. BAHR, FORMERLY BRANDT'S OSTPOLITIK NEGOTIATOR AND NOW SPD EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, HAS STATED HIS DOUBT THAT THE FIRST PART OF THE MANIFESTO WAS WRITTEN IN THE GDR, WHILE ADMITTING THE SECOND PART COULD HAVE BEEN. HE HAS ALSO SHARPLY WARNED THE OPPOSITION NOT TO RETURN TO WHAT HE

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CALLS THE "ADENAUER PERIOD" MENTALITY BY DEPRECATING THE ACHIEVEMENTS IN INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS AND THE BASIC TREATY BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE GDR. LIKE BAHR, WEHNER (SPD BUNDESTAG LEADER) HAS QUESTIONED THE DOCUMENT'S AUTHENTICITY AND HAS CALLED ITS PUBLICATION A PROVOCATION, SAYING THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROVOCATION WISH TO ROLL BACK THE DEVELOPMENT OF INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS TO THE 1950S.

3. OTHER SPD SPOKESMEN HAVE ALSO CAST DOUBT ON THE DOCUMENT'S AUTHENTICITY AND CRITICIZED DER SPIEGEL VARIOUSLY FOR PUBLISHING THE MANIFESTO AND FOR DESCRIBING IT AS A BONA FIDE PRODUCT OF SENIOR SED MEMBERS. THESE SPOKESMEN HAVE ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT LETTING THIS INCIDENT OVERSHADOW OR DERAIL PAST ACHIEVEMENTS AND PRESENT EFFORTS TO IMPROVE INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS. ALONG WITH THE ABOVE, SPD SPOKESMEN HAVE DEPLORED THE GDR'S REACTION TO THE SPIEGEL PUBLICATION, AND PARTICULARLY THE CLOSING OF THE SPIEGEL OFFICE.

4. THE CDU/CSU OPPOSITION HAS BEEN EQUALLY PARTISAN IN ITS ASSESSMENT OF THE DOCUMENT'S AUTHENTICITY, CLAIMING

IT APPEARS TO BE REAL. THE OPPOSITION HAS ALSO USED THE  
MANIFESTO TO CRITICIZE THE GDR, PAST AGREEMENTS BETWEEN  
EAST AND WEST GERMANY, AND TO CHARGE THAT THE FRG REMAINS  
WEAK IN ITS CONDUCT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

5. CDU CHAIRMAN KOHL HAS STATED THAT THE SPIEGEL DOCU-  
MENT ILLUSTRATES THE EXPLOSIVE POTENTIAL OF THE NATIONAL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 01003

QUESTION IN THE GDR, CONFIRMING THE OPPOSITION'S MORE  
INSISTENT ATTITUDE TOWARD GERMAN REUNIFICATION. AT THE

SAME TIME, ACCORDING TO KOHL, THE CLOSING OF THE SPIEGEL BUREAU IS A VIOLATION OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS, AND THE FRG HANDLING OF THE AFFAIR IS AN ILLUSTRATION OF CHARACTER. CONFIDENTIAL

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TERISTIC CLUMSINESS AND OBSEQUIOUSNESS IN DEALING WITH THE GDR. OTHER SENIOR OPPOSITION SPOKESMEN HAVE CHARGED THAT BOTH THE CONTENT OF THE MANIFESTO AND THE GDR REACTION TO ITS PUBLICATION ILLUSTRATE THAT THE DETENTE POLICY OF THE FRG HAS FAILED, THAT A SERIES OF TREATIES HAVE BEEN VIOLATED, AND THAT THE WHOLE AFFAIR CONFIRMS THE TRADITIONAL VIEW OF THE OPPOSITION THAT THE BRANDT AND SCHMIDT GOVERNMENTS HAVE NEGOTIATED BAD TREATIES WITH THE EAST. BAHR'S NAME IN PARTICULAR HAS BEEN CITED IN THE CONTEXT OF POORLY NEGOTIATED TREATIES.

6. COMMENT: GENERALLY, SUCH REACTIONS WERE TO HAVE BEEN EXPECTED. THEY MIRROR DIFFERING VIEWS AND VESTED INTERESTS WITHIN THE SPD AND THE OPPOSITION ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS, AND REFLECT A PREDICTABLE MIXTURE OF DEFENSIVENESS AND AGGRESSIVENESS BY THESE TWO GROUPS. FURTHER, THE NOISE LEVEL OF THE NATIONAL DEBATE IS NOT EXCESSIVELY HIGH AT PRESENT -- THIS IS ONE OF A NUMBER OF CONTROVERSIAL, PARTISAN STORIES COMPETING FOR ATTENTION IN THE PRESS. NONETHELESS, THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL REACTION TO THE SPIEGEL PUBLICATIONS AND THEIR AFTERMATH COMPLICATES THE SCHMIDT GOVERNMENT'S TASK IN MANAGING RELATIONS WITH THE EAST. IT ALSO PUTS BACK ON THE FRONT PAGES THE QUESTION OF WHETHER INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS ARE CONDUCTED WELL OR POORLY BY THIS COALITION. IN ADDITION THERE ARE SOME INTERESTING, ALBEIT SECONDARY, SIDELIGHTS TO THE WAY THE PARTIES HAVE REACTED IN THIS MATTER. ONE IS THAT THE GOVERNMENTAL BUREAUCRACY IS NOW UNAVOIDABLY SOMEWHAT INHIBITED IN ITS OWN BEST ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER THE DOCUMENTS ARE AUTHENTIC OR NOT. SECONDLY, THE CDU AND DER SPIEGEL, TRADITIONALLY AT SWORDS' POINTS, HAVE AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT BECOME BEDFELLOWS.

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## Message Attributes

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